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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

Submitted by

Kirkland Wentworth Green

(A.B., Allen University 1921)
(S.T.B., Boston University 1926)

In partial fulfilment of requirements

For the degree of Master of Arts

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- INTRODUCTION -

I do not propose in this thesis to go into any detailed discussion of the many topics taken up because to do so would require several volumes, hence a brief digest of the material bearing on them with an evaluation is all that can be hoped for.

In discussing the Negro in American Democracy, I found it necessary, as a kind of background, to inquire as to his origin, the meaning of the term "Negro", his world position and his sojourn in America. This being briefly done, I next attempted to follow the Negro through the development of American Democracy and note his contributions to its development and defense. First as a slave; second as a freeman and third, as a citizen. This necessitated a brief review of the history of the American Negro.

This thesis is supposed to be a resume of Negro life in America, economically, politically and socially, as portrayed by the foremost writers on the subject.

The Negro is a problem, not only to America but to the World. He did not make himself such but was made so by the white man. But why should he be a problem in America ?

He came here with the first settlers, helped to settle the country, did his share towards its development and now because he asks a place in it and a share in its fruits, should he be regarded

he asks a place in it and a share in its fruits, should he be regarded as a problem in his own home which he helped to make, as long as he seeks to live and work peacably with the other members of the family? Is he not entitled to these rights? If not, then let us give him his due. If he is, then let us see that he gets justice.

To show the Negro's coming, his stay, what has been his lot and what he deserves and hopes for in American Democracy is the task and purpose of this thesis.

K.W.G.

I

BRIEF HISTORY

BRIEF HISTORY

A. Origin of the Negro Race -

It seems necessary in order to furnish a background, to sketch the history of the coming into being of the Negro race. To do this it may be worth while to relate the findings of the leadings scholars in this field, though no testimony may be held as conclusive proof for our subject.

"The movement of prehistoric man can be seen as yet but dimly in the uncertain mist of time. This is the story today that seems most probable: from some center in Southern Asia primitive human beings began to differentiate in two directions. Toward the South appeared the primitive Negro, long headed and with flattened hair follicle. He spreaded along Southern Asia and passed over into Africa where he survives today as the reddish dwarf of the Center and the bushmen of South Africa.

Northward and Eastward primitive man became broader-headed and straight-haired, and spread over eastern Asia forming the Mongolian type. These two types intermingled to form a third or intermediate type and all developed variations according to the climate and environment."

"Other and Older theories and legends of the origin and spread of mankind are the Biblical story of Shem, Ham and Japhet, but these only represent an allogorical truth and have no historical basis." (Ham is probably the Egyptian word, "Khem" - (black) the native name of Egypt. In the original myth Canaan and not Ham was Noah's third son).

"The older "Aryan" theory assumed the emigration into Europe of one dominant Asiatic race of civilized Conquerors to whose blood and influence all modern culture was due. To the "white" race Semitic Asia, a large part of Black Africa and all Europe was

supposed to belong. The "Aryan" theory has practically been abandoned in the light of recent research and it seems probable now that from primitive Negroid stock evolved in Asia, the Semites, either by logical variation or intermingling with others, developed the Mediterranean race with negroid characteristics and the modern Negro" I

The blue-eyed light haired Germanic people may have arisen as a modern variation of the mixed people produced bt the mingling of Asiatic and African elements, but the last word about this is not yet spoken.

Sir Henry M. Stanley (North American Review 170: 656-65, May 1900) sought to give the origin of the Negro. He seems to think that Asia is the cradle of the human race, but in his attempt to trace the development of the races he takes care to develop a race that is light with blue eyes or grey with blood -brown and light hair separate fromall other branches, which was known by the name "Arya", a "noble" or ruling race. It seems a bit queer that such a man would be led to such fallacies when he showed such skill in picturing the development of other branches of the human race. Sad, but true a man's wishes can become the father of his thoughts and he can be persuaded to believe his own false statements.

He assumes that the Aryan race, the white race, has no origin, no beginning of days or ending of years but came as a special creation of the gods but not so with other races, they are products of evolution.

Sir Stanley admits that the Egyptians were Negroid, at least

I. DuBoise - "Negro" p. 21 - 22

some of them, but are not identified with the origin of the Negro. He states that the Egyptians were black with wooly hair, at least some of them, but were not Negroes. The Ethiopians were black-skinned but not Negroes. It can be seen why. The Egyptians built cities of renown and grew into a proud and conquering nation. A prince of Ethiopia, the famous Menon lent aid to Troy in the 13th Century B.C. An army under Skiskak, of Ethiopia, invaded Palestine with 1,200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen. Zerah, an Ethiopian had started to fight Asa, King of Judah with a million men. Tirhakah, the "Melek Cush" king of Ethiopia, defeated Sennacherib. This account of Ethiopian exploits, he thinks, is proof that they were not Negroes or any type of Negro. This seems to be the kind of reasoning that Sir Stanley uses.

According to Sir Stanley the Egyptians were a cross of some of the Dravidian Hill tribes with what is known as the pure African Negro. Therefore the Negro is a distinct branch of the human race that has always maintained his racial identity. In his conclusion Sir Stanley admits a possibility which but few writers dare to express and that is;" Asia furnishes sufficient evidence to show that strange divergences in human races could have produced a Negro. The Continent that exhibited the Almond-eyed Mongolian, the blue-eyed Circassin, the deep black Gondas and Bhillas, the dark Paharias, the dwarfish Aeta, the hook-nosed Jew and short Tartar could have in the very earliest ages of man produced such contrast as the wooly haired Negro and the silken haired Aryan". By this he admits the oneness of the human race but fails in his

in his treatment to show the Negro anywhere save in Africa as a primitive progenitor, which isolates him from all history-making groups of mankind. I don't doubt, Sir Stanley means to be fair but there seems a bit of inconsistency in his treatment.

What is a Negro ?

Since there is so much trouble about identifying the Negro it seems proper to inquire - what is a Negro ?

DuBoise says, in his book, "Negro" "The modern world in contrast knows the Negro chiefly as a bond slave in the West Indies and America." Add to this fact that darker races have lagged behind Europe for four centuries, the general assumption throughout the modern world is that color is a mask of inferiority.

In writing of the Negro it must be maintained that we are writing of one of the most ancient persistent and widespread stocks of mankind. But the astounding prejudice against the Negro has made an accurate history of him almost impossible. Men have confused their desires with historical facts and thus arrived at fallacious conclusions.

Scientists have tried to find a definite type of man that they could call a Negro, such as an extreme type of black, ugly and wooly haired, but they were forced to give up the effort, because at least nine tenths of the African people fail to conform to this type.

Winwood Reade says, "The typical Negro is a rare variety even among "Negroes".

In fact no such narrow definition is possible. In the case of other races no such concrete definition is attempted. A "white" may be of any color, size of facial conformation have endless variety of cranial measurement and physical characteristics. A "yellow" man is perhaps an even vaguer conception.

It is generally recognized today that no scientific definition of race is possible.

Von Luschan says, "The question of the number of human races has loss in raison de'etre and has become a subject rather of philosophical speculation than of scientific research."[1]

In America, the mulatto, a type between white and black from the mingling of the two is as typical African as the black man cannot be logically included in the white race. He is classified as a Negro, especially in America.

It is reasonable, according to historical facts, to include under the word "Negro" the darker peoples of Africa characterized by a brown skin, curled or "frizzled" hair, full and sometimes everted lips, a tendency to the development of the maxillary parts of the face and a dolichocepholic head. This type is not definite. This color varies widely; it is never black or bluish as

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1 Von Luschan - Inter-Racial Problems p. 16

some would say. The hair varies and so do their facial angles and cranial forms. Palgrave says, "the typical type to be studied is that of the statures of the Egyptian rooms in the British Museum; the larger gentle eye, the full but not over-protruding lips, the rounded contour and good natured, easy sensous expression. This is the genuine African model." To this race, Africa in the main and parts of Asia have belonged since prehistoric times.

There have been repeated efforts to establish definite racial lines by measurements of various kinds but these have proved fatal and today is practically given up. Today we realize that there are no definite racial types among men. Race is but a dynamic concept.

DuBoise further states: "The primitive stock was mulatto in the sense of being not widely differentiated from the original Australoid stock. The mistake is continually made considering these types as transitors between absolute Caucasians and absolute Negroes. No such absolute type ever existed on either side. Both were slowly differentiated from a common ancestry and continually remingled their blood while the differentiating was progressing. From prehistoric times down to the present day Africa iss in a sense primarily the land of the mulatto. So,also, was early Europe and Asia; only in these countries the mulatto was early bleached by the climate while in Africa he was darkened."[1] The Negro then is simply a colored member of the human family.

= B = The World Position of the Negro

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1 DuBoise - Negro p.23

The Negro seems to be a species of the human race different from any other, and less able to assimilate. But race recapitulation is found to be as true with the Negro as of any other race, and it is thought, from evidence of recapitulation, that the original color of man was brown.

The color of the Negro is regarded by whites as less beautiful than any of the other racial colors, as also are his other characteristic features, but that is thought to be due to the different aesthetic taste of different races and not color per se'.

There are several characteristics peculiar to the Negro.

1. The Negro is thought to have a natural immunity, a power of resistence to certain diseases that other races do not have, but this fact is without foundation. Natural immunity is not characteristic of any race in the same environment if it stays long enough to become completely acclimated. This has been fully demonstrated in the American Negro.

2. He is thought to possess a greater degree of fertility than the European or Asiatic but that is not true because when the Negro comes in contact with a different environment and civilization he, in time, makes the same adjustment and becomes like unto his fellow neighbors.

I do not hold that the Negro is less further removed from his primitive ancestors in physical characteristics and portrays more of the original features of primitive man than any of the other races. This may account for the assumption that he is less

easy to become susceptable to change. But this, I think, should be to his credit rather than discredit.

3. The Negro is said to be the only non-Caucasian race which has become the rival of the white man in science, art, literature, and mathematics. Others have kept to themselves and have never ventured to compete with the white man in his own sphere. A Negro has now been to the North Pole and there are famous Negro painters, musicians, novelists, engineers, botanists, legists,philologists, mathematicians, and genral officers whose work is done in the white world and in emulation with the first talent of Europe and America.

Sir Harry H. Johnson says, "The Negro will probably die out in Asia, but in Africa and America he has a very important part to play and he may permeate the life of Europe in coming centuries.

France has become an African power of the first magnitude, with a Negro army of forty thousand men. Britain and Germany look more and more to Africa for their commerce and the raw material of their industries. The ten million Negroes and Negroid in the U.S. occupy in that Country a position of capital importance in industry and agriculture."[1] But it seems to me that so far as the white race is concerned his color and physical features are barriers for hi m that shut him out from all the rest of world and make him an alien an unwanted child of the human family.

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1 Sir Harry H. Johnson - Papers on Inter-Race Problems p.328-36,1911

= C = - Slavery -

The development of the topic will be only a brief resume since the history of this awful human scourge in America is so familiar to all.

1. The Beginning of Slavery in America.

I shall quote mainly from the story of the Negro, by Booker T. Washington (chap. V p. 85)

The strange vessel that entered the mouth of the James River and anchored opposite the little settlement of Jamestown Va. August 1619 carrying twenty Negro slaves did not mark the beginning of slavery in America as it is popular thought.

When the Spanish explorers and adventurers came to America they brought many Spanish Negroes with them as servants and slaves. This was in the latter part of the fourteenth century because soon after this, 1505 a considerable number of slaves were introduced into Santo Domingo. Here we have the beginning of African slavery in America over a century before its entrance in Jamestown Va.

"The records show that Negroes in 1516 worked with Balboa on the Isthmus of Panama. Negroes also accompanied the expeditions of Vasquez de Ayllon, Narvaez, Coronado and Desoto. With the ill-fated expedition of Narvaez was the Negro Stephan. For eleven years, from 1528 to the year of his death 1539, this Negro Stephen was with the Spanish explorers on the mainland of North America, and a well known writer of American history has called him the discoverer of Arizona."

"According to the Spanish historian, Oveido, Negroes were among the settlers of the Spanish colony of Chicora, in 1526 on what is now the coast of South Carolina, and this, so far as known was the

earliest apperance of the black man on the soil of the U.S.African slaves accompanied the expedition of DeSoto to Florida in 1539. Negro slaves were settled at St. Augustine Florida by Pedro Menendez in 1565." After this the slave trade began to flourish and by the time it ended it is safe to say that not less than twelve million slaves had been landed in the western world.

2. Slavery as it was in America -

I cannot begin to describe slavery as it existed in America in this brief, because, to do so would require a thesis in itself, but suffice to mention some works that have very vividly painted such a picture. The first of these is "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe. 'The book was a birth of genius and love. It mixes humor with its tragedy and with all its woes the story somehow does not leave a depressing effect; it abounds in courage and action; the fugitives win their way to freedom; the final impulse is to hopeful effort against wrong. No book is richer in the gospel of love to man and trust in God. Its rank is high in the new literature which has stimulated and led the modern movement for the uplifting of the poor and oppressed. Its place is with Victor Hugo's "Les Miserables", and Tolstoi's "War and Peace". It was an appeal to the heart of the American people setting forth an organized and monstrous wrong.'

It is thought that the book (Uncle Tom's Cabin) is an exaggeration and fails to do justice to the institution of slavery but another writer who lived on a southern plantation, whose husband was a slave master says the book is no exaggeration and proceeds to write, painting an even darker picture. This writer was Fanny Kemble

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1 Booker t. Washington - Story of the Negro.chap.Vp.85

Butler, who wrote a book entitles; "A Residence on a Georgia Plantation". She tells of women being driven to work to early after child birth: of a woman who was stripped and lashed by a man, she being the mother of ten children.

Mrs. Butler describes the South with its slavery as outrage on civilization, "a nation of men whose organization and temperment is that of the Southern European, living under the influence of a climate at once enervating and exciting, scattered over tractless wilderness of arid sand and pestilential swamp, intrenched within their own boundaries, surrounded by creatures absolutely subject to their despotic will; delivered over by hard necessity to the lowest excitements of drinking, gambling and debauchery for sole recreation; independent of all opinion; ignorant of all progress; isolated from all society - it is impossible to conceive a more savage existence within the border of any modern civilization."

Merriam says," Inefficiency and degradation were the marks of the non-slaving whites, the master class missed the wholesome regime of toil. Nature is never more beneficent than when she lays on man the imperative command "Thou shalt work". Of all ways of evading it the worst is to shift the burden to another man. in being driven to do other men's work as well as his own, the Negro found some compensation, but his enslaver paid a constant and heavy penalty".

= D = - Emancipation -

It would be impossible to describe the whole movement leading up to emancipation, it will be necessary to state only some of the facts concerning it along with an interpretation of this great incident in the life of the American Negro.

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1 Merriam - The Negro and the Nation, p.110-11

Emancipation was one of the fruits of the Civil War, and the greatest single incident in the history of the American Negro.

When the Civil War began the one absorbing issue was to save the Union, but as God would have it that great slaughter of human life could not end and leave nearly four millions of His sons and daughters in chains.

Abraham Lincoln who was head of the nation at that time said that it was not his purpose to interfere with the subject, slavery. His sole object was to save the Union. He said if he could save the Union by freeing part and leaving the others in slavery he would do it, and if he could save the Union by not freeing any of them he would do that, but if he could save the Union by freeing them all he would do it. This shows that Lincoln did not intend to free the slaves. But it was found that to free the slaves was imperative to the bringing of the awful scourge to an end and in mid-summer 1862 Lincoln prepared the Emancipation Proclamation which became effective January first 1863.

1. The Beginning of Emancipation: - Emancipation began with General Butler when he declared all fugitives "contraband of war" and forbade their return once they reached the Union army. Next with General Freemont who was in command in Missouri. He declared the state to be under martial law and all slaves to be free. But this action met with much disfavor in Washington, but was cheered by the anti-slavery party in the north.

As the war progressed it became more serious each day and emancipation seemed the only logical course or step to take to change

the tide. But Lincoln was puzzled as to just what step to take. The North was clamoring for complete emancipation. General Davis Hunter in South Carolina finding himself with 10,000 slaves in his camp to be cared for declared martial law in his military district and freed all the slaves in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. But Lincoln over-ruled his subordinate and revoked the declaration of Hunter as he did in the case of Fremont. But so much pressure was brought upon Lincoln that he saw that emancipation was inevitable.

2. Emancipation Achieved : - Lincoln had promised himself that when the Union army was victorious he would free the slaves so when Lee was defeated at Antietam he called together, Sept.,22, 1862,his cabinet and outlined his plan. After some discussion and modifications the proclamation was approved by the cabinet and was to become effective January, first, 1863, of the next year.

So came the new year's day, 1863 and the final word was spoken declaring all slaves free in all rebellious States.This act only caused them to make their last desperate stand or struggle which lasted for two years longer, which after the hardest and bloodest period of the war, came to an end with Lee's surrender to Grant at Petersburg in 1865, With the war ended and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment complete emancipation came to the Negro.

= E = Reconstruction -

Now that the war was over and emancipation achieved for the Negro, the next step to be taken was to reconstruct the

rebellious states and restore them to the Union with their new citizens.

For lack of space it will only be possible to state the plans of reconstruction their results and wisdom.

1. The first plan was that offered by President Johnson. He proposed to pardon all the rebel leaders of the south, aid them in reconstructing the States in restoring them to the Union but to leave the problem of the Negro adjustment to the wisdom of the South. But he suggested that all Negroes be allowed to vote who could quality, that is all who could read and write and possessed at least $250 in real estate, but this would have left the Negro unprotected in the obtaining of the qualifications. And in a serman in his church October 29,1865 Beecher declared that suffrage could never be secured to the Negro except he be made so intelligent that it could not be denied him.

This plan proved inadequate no matter what might have been its merits. This was clearly demonstrated by the Black Codes of the South .

2. The Black Codes : - We do not question the need of legislation in this period of Negro adjustment but it is clear that some of these laws were made with a sinister motive and administered with such severe cruelty that it could be seen in their working an attempt reinstate the institution of clavery which had become so repulsive to the North and some fairminded people of the South, hence

only time was necessary to show the inadequacy of Johnson's plan and the unfaithfulness of the South. This necessitated more direct and effective action of Congress, and this action may be regarded as the second plan.

3. The Second Plan: - This plan was to strengthen and extend the power of the Freedman's Bureau, giving power to build several school houses and jurisdiction over criminal and civil cases and all unjust discrimination between races. Following this Bill came the Civil Rights Bill, the Fourteenth Amendment granting the Negro full citizenship rights and to Congress power to enforce it. The bill was vetoed by President Johnson but by two thirds majority the measure became a law over the President's veto.

The wisdom of the bill and its statesmanship quality cannot be denied although it led to some very unpleasant circumstances or consequences. Some States accepted with good faith and promised wholesome outcomes, such as Georgia and Tennessee but others rejected the bill and sought to make it ineffective as a result fierce and bloody riots broke out in which many Negroes were brutally murdered.This led to more drastic measures by Congress.

4 The Final Plan:-It was in February 1867 that Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, who had a suspicion about the faithfulness of the South all along, declared the failure of all plans at reconstruction and introduced what is known as the final plan. He proposed martial law for all unreconstructed States, which after

much discussion and some modifications by Blaine and Sherman, was passed and these territories were divided into districts and placed under military rule.

Under military rule the states were rapidly reconstructed; the Negro was raised to full citizenship and granted full and equal suffrage without any restrictions.

The North believed universal suffrage was necessary to insure the Negro's own protection and as Blaine says:"The North believed and believed wisely, that a poor man, an ignorant man and a black man who was throughly loyal, was a safer and better voter than a rich man, an educated man and a white man who in his heart was disloyal to the Union. "But the"Republican" on the contrary expressed the opinion: "It is better to be governed by ex-rebels than by fools." Regardless of the unpleasantness of the latter statement or opinion it contained a deal of truth, which will be borne out by this last plan of reconstruction.

5. The Working Out: - The working out of this plan, to my mind, is the saddest period in the history of Negro Freedom in America. The complete enfranchisement of a people who were not capable of using it, to me, seemed very poor statesmanship irrespective of the motive. Such action could only spell doom for the Republican party and the painful undoing of the Negro. This was demonstrated by the wholesale corruption that followed which marks the darkest page in the political history of the South. It produced a moral blindness in the southern whites that they have never fully recovered from

and a political loss to the Negro that he has never been able to regain and will probably never regain except by a revolution at a great price. Yet we will not despair.

= F = Alienation of the Races -

Briefly I will attempt to state the causes of race alienation as set forth by Mr. Page in his reply to Mr. Schurz."It was the condust of the Freedman's Bureau which misled the Negroes and caused the first breach between them and their masters."[1] This of course is only natural though I think it is not the cuase of the first breach. The first breach came with the emancipation and naturally so.

The second cause may be due as Mr. Page suggest, to the attitude of the missionaries who had come to instruct the the Negro. "The South regarded jealously any teaching of the Negroes which looked toward equality." The new missionaries went counter to this deepest prejudice of the Southern people.

The third cause was in the fact that, these missionaries lived with the Negroes and appeared to be on intimate terms with them thus as the South thought, they were teaching social equality, a doctrine which was surest of all to arouse enmity then as now.

The fourth step in alienation was the formation of the secret order of the Union League, the main purpose of which was thought to be to alienate the Negroes from the whites and drill them into loyality to their new leaders whom they represented.

The Southern people became enraged over the situation and began

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1. Page - Current Literature. 36 - 526 - 8. May, 1904.

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- 2 - Alienation of the Races -

Briefly I will attempt to state the causes of race alienation as set forth by Mr. Page in his reply to Mr. Schurz. "It was the conduct of the Freedman's Bureau which misled the Negroes and caused the first breach between them and their masters."[1] This of course is only natural though I think it is not the cause of the first breach. The first breach came with the emancipation and naturally so.

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1 Page - Current Literature. 35 - 525 - c. May, 1904.

sore persecutions, and of course in the main the Negro was the victim.

Unhappily for the Negro he became the tool of scheming Northern or Republican politicians from whence came all his miseries

The Negro now elienated from the Southern whites, the whites determined to rid themselves of this outrage against them, the disfranchisement of the whites and enfranchisement of the ignorant Negro, rose as a solid democratic South and began their pilgrimage to restoration of power. Soon the Republican party was defeated and Southern-White-Rule was again established; and when this was accomplished the Republican party left the South to solve her own problem and the Negro to shift for himself. As a result the Negro was disfranchised and became the charge of white politicians. After the whites regained their control and had disfranchised the Negro, the great question arose, what shall we do with him ? Then it was that the Negro became a problem.

II PROBLEM

II PROBLEM

A. = The Negro as a Problem =

I cannot hope to go into a detailed discussion of this chapter for the scope is too broad for this thesis since its objective is simply to count the mile posts in the journey of the Negro in American democracy, the direction in which he is traveling and the goal he hopes to reach; point out the obstacles in his path, what has been done and yet can be done to overcome them. And if I can, in a meager way, do this, then my task will have been accomplished.

In stating the Negro as a problem, I shall quote mainly from an article by W.E.B.DuBoise. "Negro Race in the United States of America." Papers in inter-racial problem, page 348 - 64, July 1911.

We cannot grasp the full significance of the Negro problem unless we first acquaint ourselves with some of the conditions under which he is forced to exist, not live, both North and South.

The Negro is not a problem to the South alone but to the whole nation. Let us take a look at him first in the South.

1. The Negro in the South: " In the Southern States by law or custom Negroes - (1) Cannot vote or votes are neutralized by fraud. (2) Must usually live in the least desirable districts. (3) Receive very low wages.(4) Are in the main restricted to menial occupations or the low grades of skilled labor and cannot expect preferment or promotion. (5) Cannot by law inter-marry with whites. (6) Cannot join white churches or attend white colleges or join white cultural organizations. (7) Cannot be accomodated at hotels and restaurants or in any place of public entertainment. (8) Receive a distinct

A. = The Negro as a Problem =

standard of justice in the Courts and are especially liable to mob violence. (9) Are segregated as far as possible in every walk of life - in railway stations, railway trains, street-cars, lifts etc., and usually made to pay equal prices for inferior accommodations.

(10) Are often unable to protect their homes from invasion, their women from insults and their savings from exploitation.

(11) Are taxed for public facilities like parks and libraries which they may not enter.

(12) Are given meager educational facilities and some times none at all.

(13) Are liable to personal insults unless they appear as servants or menials or show difference to white folks by yielding the road etc."

I can witness to the accuracy of the above statements save with few exceptions as sometimes with some few individuals; but with the masses the condition is fairly stated.

It can be readily seen then from the above conditions, with the Negro ever striving to modify them, in what sense the South regards the Negro as a problem, and problem he is and problem he will ever be so long as such conditions remain.

We may pass own without stating the causes of such conditions save as the main causes may be regarded as political, economical and social.

We We may take a look at the Negro in the North.

2. The Negro in the North: - " In the North the Negro population is legally undiscriminated against and may attend schools and churches and vote without restriction. As a matter of fact, however, they are made in most communities to feel that they are undesirable. They are either refused accommodations at hotels, restaurants and theaters or received reluctantly. Their treatment in churches and general cultural organizations is such that few join. Inter-marriage with whites brings ostracism and public disfavour and in courts Negroes often suffer undeservedly. Common labour and menial work open to them, but avenues above this in skilled labour or professions (save as they serve their own race) are extremely difficult to enter, and there is much discrimination in wages. Mob violence has become not infrequent in later years."

Here also are many exceptions, but on the whole, however, the Negro in the North is an ostracised person who finds it difficult to make a decent living.

Mr. Maurice Evans very accurately describes the condition in these two sections; "In the South the Negro has a livelihood with out the vote while in the North he has the vote without a livelihood."[1]

B - Some Suggested Solutions

I take this opportunity to state some of the solutions which have been offered, which are no longer looked upon as having any particular value.

1. Colonization; - The idea of colonization is no new one. It is as old as the feeling against slavery and the prejudice against the Negro. It was advocated by anti-slavery leaders long before emancipation. They saw the inevitable problem that would come with emancipation which must find solution, and they thought

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1 Maurice Evans - Black and White in the Southern States p.210-24

this to be the only solution. Jefferson believed that two free races could not live together on terms of equality and as a result favored the idea of deportation and colonization.

Out of this feeling came into existence the American Colonization Society between 1803 and 1917, supported by men such as Jefferson, Adams, Madison and Clay. Out of this movement came the Colony of Liberia.

After the Civil War the idea of Colonization was favoured by such men as President Lincoln, Senator Blair and others, and later by Bishop Turner of the A.M.E. Church and at present by a white advocate, John Temple Graves of Georgia.

This movement failed for several reasons:

(1) The Negro didn't want to go back to Africa.
(2) America was as much the Negro's home as that of his former master.
(3) The Negro had sacrificed his labor and shedded his blood to make this nation and it was his home. So why should he leave?
(4) The Southern whites wanted the Negro to remain here to do the work they had been trained to do which the whites had been taught to abhor, and regard as degrading.

2. Extermination : - This solution was advocated or at least suggested, and was to be either permitted or inflicted. It seems unbelievable that a race that regards itself as civilized and christian could ever conceive of such a solution.

The idea seems so absurd that it is repulsive to any moral conscience, so much so that I deem it worthless to attempt to discuss it. I do not wonder that the idea soon died and ceased to engage the minds of men.

3. Segregation : - This idea was seized by the South as a possible solution; an effort to keep the "Nigger" in "his place". This was designed to assign the Negro a place or a level from which he was never to rise, as a result segregation laws were enacted so as to legally enforce the will of one upon another.

To picture the significance of this idea I quote from an article by Booker T. Washington. "White people who argue for the segregation of the masses of black people forget the tremendous power of objective teaching. To hedge any set of people off in a corner and sally among them now and then with a lecture or sermon is merely to add misery to degradation.

Segregation is ill advised because:

(1) It is unjust.

(2) It invites other unjust measures.

(3) It will not be productive of good because practically every thoughtful Negro resents its injustice and doubts its sincerity. Any race adjustment based on injustice finally defeats itself.

(4) It is unnecessary.

(5) It is inconsistent. The Negro is segregated from the whites but white business men are not prevented from doing

business in Negro neighborhoods.

(6) There has been no case of segregation of Negroes in the United States that has not widened the breach between the two races. Wherever a form of segregation exist it will be found that it has been administered in such a way as to embitter the Negro and harm more or less the moral fiber of the white man. That the Negro does not express this constant sense of wrong is no proof that he does not feel it. In the long run no individual and no race can succeed which sets itself at war with the common good; for in the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim."[1]

Mr. Washington has clearly pictured the results of segregation and showed its inadequacy. This idea has created more problems than it solved. Its only fruit has been to make more complex and difficult an already apparent insoluble problem. It prevented all healthy social contact of the two races and made mutual understanding impossible; And when the Southern white man says he understands the Negro, he is either deceiving himself or trying to deceive others. This effort being a fizzle we pass to the consideration of another:

4. Amalgamation : - This is the proposal of the extremest. The amalgamation or fusing together of the two races has been regarded by some as the only possible solution.

Now, I am by this measure or proposal as I am by the last mentioned above, segregation. I am not opposed to segregation per se but because of its attending evils. I am not opposed to amalgamation but I would not dare advocate it at the present time because

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1 Booker T. Washington - New Republic. 5:113-14.Dec.4,1915.

of the different ideas of social standing and race integrity.

The mere suggestion of amalgamation makes many whites hold up hands in holy horror. The general licensing of amalgamation would only be a curse to both races for generations and would retard social progress for generations to come. Yet one cannot fail to see the handwriting on the wall, that ultimate solution of the race problem lies in amalgamation of races and ideals. The sensible Negro does not advocate it nor does he desire it, but while there may be a fanatical extremest among Negroes who advocates such, to every one that advocates it there are ten whites practicing it in the most heinous form. It is coming, there is no doubt, but in a way that both races can only look upon with disdain.

Now that it is conceded that amalgamation is no immediate panacea, other solutions must be sought which we must refer to a later chapter. but suffice to say here that amalgamation is an ultimate and will no doubt require centuries to effect a solution to the race problem, and perhaps a millennium, while in the meantime some temporary adjustments must be made until the races of mankind learn the eternal truth, that the difference or inequalities of races which we must recognize, are not due to any inherent principle peculiar to any particular race, as some now advocate but rather to fate and fortune of the different racial melieu. And that we are members of one family, moving toward the same goal, children of the same father, brothers of one another and of One Blood, God made all nations and races to dwell upon the face of the earth.

III

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION

TO THE FLAG

III

THE NEGRO'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE NEA

A. - The Revolutionary War -

George E. Hayes says in his "Trend of Races", that Negroes were in practically every white regiment during the Revolutionary War. A Hessian officer, after marching through Massachusetts said; "No regiment is to be seen in which there are not Negroes in abundance."

Bancroft, the historian says that the names of colored men were on the roll of the army at Cambridge from its first formation and that Negroes stood in the ranks with whites in the militia of different colonies and were retained in service under the Continental Congress.

The first man to die for American independence was a Negro, Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, during the Boston Massacre, March 5, 1770.

There were 775 under General Washington's immediate command and 4000 in the whole Continental army. A company of Negroes fought at Bunker Hill. It was Peter Salem a negro who fired the shot that killed Major Pitcairn, which turned the tide of the battle.

The Negroes fought courageously in the battle of Rhode Island in August 1778. It was a black regiment from Santo Domingo, that covered the retreat and repulsed the British Army at Savannah Ga. October 9,1779 and saved the American and French Armies from defeat.

When the Revolutionary War began Negroes were rejected but when it was learned that British Generals were offering them inducements to join their ranks, General Washington without consent

A. - The Revolutionary War -

of Congress ordered them to be enlisted and to this call the Negroes responded immediately. The attitude of the Colonists changed and Negro regiments were ordered formed.

Along with their white compatriots the Negroes fought and died for American Independence, showing heroism at Bunker Hill, valor at Brandywine, fortitude at Valley Forge, courage, enthusiasm and endurance in every engagement down to Saratoga and Yorktown where Cornwallis surrendered. Can justice be denied in America to their descendants, the full need of their sacrifices ?

B - War of 1812: - In this war the value of the Negro as a soldier was already known from Revolutionary times and there was no need of debate. The heroism of the Negro was praised by Commander Shaler in his Armed Schooner and Perry praised them on Lake Erie. New York passed an act authorizing the raising of two Negro regiments October 24, 1814 and 20,000 enlisted. The most notable service was rendered under Major General Andrew Jackson at New Orleans. He called to them for support and they rallied. He promised them the same rewards that would be that of the white soldiers. And on Sunday December 18, 1814 just before the battle of New Orleans, General Andrew Jackson reviewed his Negro Contigent and delivered the following address which I quote in part:

"Soldiers: From the shores of Mobile I collected you to Arms. I invited you to share in the perils and to divide the glory with your white countrymen. I expected much from you, For I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you as formidable to an invading foe. I knew that you could endure hunger and

thirst and all the hardships of war. I knew that you loved the land of your nativity, and that, like ourselves you had to defend all that was most dear to man. But you have surpassed my hopes. I have found in you, united to these qualities, that noble ~~and~~ enthusiasm which impels to great deeds," About 400 were in the engagement and one of them gave Jackson the suggestion for his famous cotton breastworks.

C. - The Civil War: - "In the Civil War the Negro troops were especially distinquished for their heroism at Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, Fort Pillow and around Petersburg."[1] At the capture of the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson in which a Negro regiment fought with great courage with odds against it, it was a Negro who said before his head was blown off: "Colonel, I will bring back these colors to you on honor or report to God the reason why." Under command of General Shaw at Fort Wagner, on Morris Island near Charleston S.C. July 18, 1863 it was a Negro Sargent, William H. Carney who snatched the flag from a falling comrade and planted it on the works in the face of raining bullets and when being borne bleeding and mangled off the field said: "Boys the old flag never touched the ground."

We need not further enumerate Negro exploits, suffice to say that the Negro played a creditable part in the winning of the Civil War, without once betraying his trust.

D. The Spanish American War: History tells of the Negro's bravery in this war such as he has always shown. It was the daring of the Tenth Calvery that saved Colonel Roosevelt's Rough Riders from complete annihilation. The quality of these men was ably

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1 Brawley - Short History of American Negro. p. 181.

expressed by a Captain who said to me one day: "The men of the Tenth Calvery were the best soldiers America has ever produced, their skill and courage have never been surpassed." When a white captain says that of these men, their superiority as soldiers can never be questioned.

E - Last but by no means least is the World's War: - The Negroes played their part nobly in this greatest of all wars. He rallied 400,000 strong and did his duty at home and abroad. Special reference may be made tothe work of the 369 th Infrantry . This organization was decorated for bravery as a unit.At one period it was under fire for 191 days, holding one trench for 91 days without relief. It was the first unit to reach the Rhine. Many Negroes were decorated for single-handed bravery. So nobly did the Negro soldiers play their part that a French General said to them when embarking for home:" Dear Friends from America, when you reach the other side of the ocean do not forget the Red Hand Division(which fought along beside them) our brotherhood has been cemented in the blood of the brave and such bonds will never be destroyed."

Not only did the soldier do his bit but the Negro at home made the unrelenting sacrifice. I wander sometime has all this sacrifice been in vain ! Only time can tell because I can't see it now.

IV

THE NEGRO AND PROGRESS

V

I don't propose to enumerate in detail the progress of the Negro in America for such would require a theis in itself. My only aim is to announce the fact and give reasons or evidence of same.

It has been said that the Negro is the white man's only real rival; he is the only one who has dared to rival the white man on his own ground. Since I cannot hope to do justice to this topic I will only mention progress along three lines: in Literature, Art, Education and Industry.

A. In Literature and Art: -

1. In Literature, the first to be mentioned is Phillis Wheatley a young woman who was born in Africa and brought to America in 1761. This young negro girl under the guidance and care of her mistress, Mrs, Susannah Wheatley, learned to read. Her talent was soon recognized and much attention was given her and soon she became a recognized writer of verse. Her collections, "Poems on Various Subjects", contains thirty-nine titles, but only sixteen may be regarded of real merit. All of this work was donee before she was twenty."A child of the wilderness and a slave, by her grace and culture satisfied conventionalities of Boston and London" (Brawley- Short History of American Negro)

The second is Paul Lawrence Dunbar, born in Dayton Ohio, June 27, 1872. He graduated from Steele High School in 1891 and composed his class song. After a hard struggle for maintenance against great odds finally won public recognition by the publishing of his "Lyrics of Lowly Life". This was followed by many other efforts such as the

"Uncalled"; "The Love of Landy"; "The Fanatics"; and"The Sport of the Gods". Collections of short stories were,"Folks from Dixie"; "The Strength of Gideon" and "In Old Plantation Days". Volumes of verse were; "Lyrics of the Hearthside","Lyrics of Love and Laughter", "Poems of Cabin and Field", "When Malindy Sings", "Candle Lightin Time" and "Howdy Honey,Howdy." Dunbar died at only thirty-three,but in that short time he had inscribed his name in the history of American Literature, to not be erased by time. By his genius Paul Lawrence Dunbar attracted the attention of the great, the wise and good.

The third is Charles Waddell Chestnut - He was the foremost novelist and short story writer of the race. Born in Cleveland Ohio, June 20,1858.

Mr. Chestnut wrote on the race question in the form of fiction and dealth with almost every form of Southern Negro Life.

It is not my purpose here to evaluate his writings but the most famous of his many works are said to be "The Banquet", "The Wife of His Youth", "The Marrow of Tradition" and the biography of Frederick Douglass. He is today one of the outstanding men of the race in literary achievement.

The fourth is W.E.B. DuBoise - I could not do more than mention some of DuBoise writings since I don't feel able to express the deserved appreciation of his work. Aside from his technical ~~&c~~ scientific studies I will only mention three books whose, " remarkable style has made them unquestionably the most important

work in classic English yet written by a Negro" namely: "John Brown 1909", "The Quest of the G olden Fleece", and the "Souls of Black Folk".

The fifth is William Stanley Braithwaithe: -"Foremost of the poets of the race at present is William Stanley Braithwaithe of Cambridge, Mass."(Dean Brawley). Braithwaithe has published two small books of poems, "Lyrics of Life and Love", and "The House of Falling Leaves" . His work as a critic has raised him to be recognized as one of the foremost or it seems not too much to say the foremost sponsors of American current poetry.

Many other writers could be mentioned here but suffice to mention a few of the bright stars in the horizon while hundreds of others may be seen.

2. In Art : - The Negro has made his contribution in the world of art such as will give him a recognized place in American or the world's history.

(a) On the stage we have Ira Frederick Aldridge, Bert Williams and many others of National and International fame.

(b) As orators, we may mention, Frederick Douglass, J.C.Price and Booker T. Washington. Many others may be mentioned but these will suffice.

(c) Painters : - Here we mention E.M.Bannister of Providence R.I. one of whose pictures took the medal of the Centennial Exposition of 1876.

The foremost American Negro painter of today is Ossawa Tanner of Pittsburg. William E. Scott of Indianoplis is becoming more and more distinquished and is worthy of honourable mention.

(d) Sculptors: - In this art many women have arisen to distinction such as Edmonia Lewis, born in New York 1865. She attracted attention in 1895 by a bust of Robert Gould Shaw exibited in Boston. Within the last few decades the work of Mrs. May Howard Jackson, of Washington has also attracted much attention. That of Mrs. Meter Warrick Fuller is now a part of the general story of American Sculpture.

(e) Vocalist: - Before the Civil War the race produced a singer of the first rank in the person of Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield the "Black Swan", who came into prominence in 1851. Some years later rose Madam Selika, a singer of great ability. In 1887 came Flora Batson who won great fame. After Flora Batson came Mrs. Sissieratta Johnson with whose name is linked "Swanee River".

With in the last few years among prominent singers have been Mme. E.Azalia Hackley, Mme. Anita Patti Brown, Mrs. Mamie Calloway Byron and Mme. Florence Cole- Talbert. And at present we may refer to two men who command attention and consideration among America's best vocalists, those are Harry T. Burleigh and Roland Hayes.

The Fisk Jubilee Singers must be mentioned in connection with Negro folk-songs for it was they who made these songs famous.

(f) Composers: - The foremost name of Negro composers is that

of Coloridge Taylor of England (1875-1912). Then comes Harry T. Burleigh who in the last few years has won a place not among the prominent song-writers of America, but of the world.

Some lesser lights may be mentioned such as Will Marian Cook, J. Rosamond Johnson, R. Nathaniel Dett and Edmond T. Jenkins of Charleston S.C. and others. Many more could be mentioned but we regard the above sufficient for this brief.

= B = In Education -

I shall only state the progressive trend of education among Negroes, since a full development of the history is not a part of our task in this paper.

The history of Negro education in the United States has been until recently, largely the story of the planting of Schools and Colleges in the South by Northern Missionaries, such as agents of the Freedman's Bureau, the American Missionary Association etc. and their sustenance and varying success through Northern benevolence. Not unnaturally these pioneer teachers were commonly regarded by the white Southerners as uninvited foreigners, meddlesome interlopers and general trouble makers who spoiled good field hands and contented house servants by putting foolish notions into their heads. Yet in spite of prejudice and opposition, the Yankee Teachers held their ground and have done their share in gradually convincing the thoughtful people of the South that the Negro must be educated; that as Dr. J.L.M.Curry, himself a Confederate soldier tersely remarked, " Ignorance is not a cure for anything: that the illiterate

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Negro is a menace to his community, and if people do not know enough to avoid the contaminations of disease and vice, they will frequently become diseased and vicious and thus the carriers and disseminators of every kind."[1]

This shows that the Negro must have his own leaders and they must be well-trained. As a result such schools as Fisk at Nashville, Howard at Washington, Shaw at Raleigh, Spelman and Moorehouse at Atlanta and Hampton and Tuskegee Institute have won a measure of Southern sympathy and support which was denied to them in earlier days. But it is to be regreted that the distribution of school funds is still so very partial in the Southern States, allowing $10.32 for each white child and only $2.89 for each colored child.

But there is still a silvery lining to be seen on the horizon. Several foundations have been lending aid to Negroes administered by the American Negro Association, such as the Jeanes Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, The Daniel Hand Fund and other similar agencies. These work in conjunction with the churches and other educational agencies, such as the Rosenwald Fund and the Smith-Hughes Law for the promotion of vocational training and the Smith-Lever Law for the support of "extention work".

There are other signs of progress to be seen such as: (1) The old anatagonism between industral and classical education is fading away. (2) The Negroes themselves are supporting and improving their schools and colleges with remarkable generosity, energy and intelligence. (3) The best white people of both South as well as North are giving proof of their belief in Negro education by both words

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1 James E.Gregg. --Weekly Review. 3:52-3. July 14, 1920

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1 James E.Gregg. - Weekly Review. 3:52-3. July 24, 1920

and deeds. This bids fair to the rising of a new star on the horizon of Negro education in America and should be much encouragement to him.

= C = In Industry. -

1. As a Laborer : - In giving a bird's-eye view of the Negro in industry to indicate the direction in which he is moving I quote from Brawley: " It is not only in his industral enterprises that the Negro is felt however; upon his shoulder has fallen much of the most ardous and necessary work of the Nation. In 1910 of 3,178,554 Negro men at work in the Country, 981,922 were listed as farm laborers or farmers. Of women 1,047,146 or 52% were either farm laborers or farmers, and 28 % doing domestic service."[1] During the migration of 1915 - 1918 thousands migrated North and West and found employment in many of the great industries and gave good account of themselves. Unfortunately the attitude of the labor unions has not been very favorable and this has made another problem for the Negro or is another obstacle in the path of his progress. But there are signs of hope in the distance as expressed by Mr. Herbert Seligmann in his book: "Negro Faces America" p.186-217

Mr. Seligmann reviews the situation stating the causes of union hostility to Negro Laborers, which he terms as; the fear that the great influx of Negroes into industries would endanger the wage standard and the Negro's distrust of the white labor union. But time proved the error of both sides and when the Negro had made his place secure and had proved his efficiency the tide changed and the Federation discovered the Brotherhood of man. Another

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[1] Brawley- "Short History of the American Negro" p.218-19.

cause may be mentioned: the fear that a universal discrimination of the Negro might lead to a race union, since they were coming in such large numbers, and that would lead to rivalry and other unpleasant situations, such as the displacement of some of the whites and for the first time the union saw the necessity of making allies of Negro workers. But a voice echoed from the South stating that such action would be a menace to the very foundation of the color line drawn in the South. Therefore nothing much has been done along this line as a result of that above reaction.

Mr. Seligmann seems to think that much behind the many race riots in the North can be attributed to the antipathy of labor groups. He believes that the broadest path toward harmonization of racial differences in the future lies in labor organization. As soon as men become more enlightened they will realize that race prejudice is a bogy, color lines will be swept aside in all labor organizations and it will be found that the Negro can be as good a union man as any other. There are signs of this to be seen and we hope its realization is not far distant.

"Too exclusively the Negro has been thought of in terms of a domestic servant. In the right light it is an honourable distinction."[1] The old-time relation of life has gradually changed since the days of Emancipation. Only 21% ofall Negroes were in this class in 1910. The movement away from domestic service has been accelerated since the war time demands in industry came upon us. The coming of the war meant accelerated industry and a new day for Negro labor. The shortage of labor in the northern industries gave the Negro his chance and he seized it. They found employment in all forms of

1. Rodney Roundy - The Negro - an Asset of American Nation.p.7-8.11

industry and it has been reported by the Department of Negro Economics of the United States Governments, that the record of the Negro compares favorably with that of the whites.

2. In Business :- The Negro has distinquished himself as a business man and demonstrated the fact that he knows something about thrift and accumulation.' In 1866 the Negroes owned in the entire Country 12,000 houses, operated 20,000 farms, conducted 2,100 businesses and had accumulated in wealth $20,000,000. Fifty years later he owned 600,000 homes, operated 981,000 farms, conducted 45,000 businesses and their wealth had increased to $1,110,000,000 with over $50,000,000 invested. He now operates some seventy or more safe and sound banks. He has already received grants for a thousand patents. In 1866 his property used for higher education was valued at but $60,000 but in 1917 this had increased to $21,500,000. For the same dates church property has increased from $1,500,000 to $76,000,000.' And were the figures computed up to date a greater increase would be quite evident.

V

- THE NEGRO AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS -

I

A. In Politics : -

I do not intend here to develop a comprehensive defense, but only hope to state some of the conditions that exist and inquire into the why of it all.

In the S outh today the Negro is of no consequence in active political circles, though his force and influence are quite evident. He is denied the vote in practice at least, yet in choosing representatives the South demands representation based on population, hence it cannot be denied that the Negro is still a force or power in politics.

Take a statement from Brawley : "In the presidental election of 1912 Massachusetts sent 18 electors to the electoral College and South Carolina sent 9; but for her eighteen Massachusetts cast 488,156 votes and South Carolina for her nine cast 50,348. In 1914 Kansas and Mississippi each elected 8 members of the house of representatives, but Kansas had to cast 483,683 votes for her members while Mississippi cast only 37,135 for hers."[1] There is but one remedy for conditions and that is, the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment which says, the number of representatives shall be based on the number of voters. Bills have been sent to Congress dealing with this condition but up to the present time nothing has been done.

From an article, by Morfield Storey; "The solid South rest

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[1] Brawley - A Short History of the American Negro, page 157

upon the suppressed Negro vote and it creates a condition that cannot long endure. Does it help the community which refuses to recognize the political right of the Negro? Does it insure good government to let their political hinge on a simple question ? Is it wise to let a whole government rest on injustice to its citizens as a corner-stone?" In reply to these questions he says: "The politicians whether they hold executive offices or sit in legislatures, know, respect, and fear "the labor vote", the "temperance vote", the "soldier vote", the "suffrage vote", and every other vote, but they have no time to spare for any class that has no votes. The non-voters are defenseless, there needs are not considered, their rights are not defended and no body of taxpayers can long remain in that position." "Taxation without representation is tyranny."I

The truth of Mr. Storeys contention is borne out very forcibly in a description of the Negro in the South before the courts by Maurice Evans in his book: "Black and White in Southern States" which we will next consider.

= B = Before the Courts: - Mr. Maurice Evans says, it is true that there is no country in the world where all, high and low receive complete and impartial justice even when all have a right to participate in the government but when this condition is augmented by a denial of any group or race the right to participate nothing less than tyranny can be expected. Such a condition we observe in the South. Negroes are arrested for offenses that whites are unmolested. To this I can readily ascribe. He further states that Negroes don't get an impartial justice even when offense is between Negroes themselves, and it is impossible when the offense is against a white man.

We know that such conditions obtain and the reason is very evident to all. The Negro has no voice in the administration of justice, no vote that can be counted and hence no rights that the

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LStorey - Southern Workman 49: 349-55. August 1920

whites are forced to respect. Until these conditions are changed Negro life in the South can be nothing less than a constant veil of tears.

The National Constitution guarantees the Negro political rights but the south has seen fit to disregard it and without being taken to task, hence I have no sympathy for or personal interest in those who yell about enforcement in the disregard of other Amendments such as the Eighteenth etc.

= C = Freedom of Speech -

The Negro is not allowed to openly protest against the wrongs perpetrated against him in the south. If one is found trying to enlighten the Negro in regards to his condition and methods to improve himself he is ordered to make himself scarce and if he doesn't heed that warning he is assaulted and abused. All public meetings are censored and if anything is said against the Status Quo it becomes very unhealthy.

There must be no spoken objections by the Negro about any industral, political or social wrongs and if anyone attempts it he does so at the peril of his safty, the preachers are not excepted. This is not general but such conditions obtain in many seconds.

The lack of freedom of speech has caused the Negro masses to distrust their own leaders and charge them with being stool-pigeons or lackeys and their Negro leadership has been very ineffective in the main.

VI

- THE NEGRO AND SOCIAL EVILS -

There are four outstanding evils that are directed against the Negro, namely: Race Prejudice, Segregation, Lynching and Peonage.

A. Race Prejudice:- H.G.Wells says: " I am convinced myself there is no more evil thing in this present world than race prejudice, none at all! I write deliberately - it is the worst single thing in life now.It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."

It is not a part of our task here to discuss race prejudice in its causes, consequences and cures but only to state its effect upon the American Negro. But we may mention a few points sufficient to indicate a casual significance of this strange social phenomenon.

Race prejudice as the casual observer sees it is an aversion to any race because of fear, jealousy, dislike or difference. The causes may be regarded as ignorance, misunderstanding or lack of Christian Character.

It has been sufficiently proved by scientists that race prejudice is not biologically inherited but a social inheritance.

Prof. Park says: " We hate people because we fear them, because our interests, as we understand them at any rate, run counter to theirs."

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that the common, popular notion of race prejudice is a gross error. When one hears the word "race prejudice", he naturally thinks of color aversion. But is this true ? Not much, because in the south where the holler is the loudest about color aversion whites are willing to eat the cooking of the blacks, ride in the same car, with one provided that one is a servant but when the same association is attempted on the plain of equality it is grossly resented.

White men find no trouble or experience no unpleasantness in working on the same job with Negroes as long as the former are foremen but resents working on equal terms with the latter. The Negro is encouraged to thrift but as soon as that thrift produces any signs of rivalry the whites become hostile. I recall as inci dent in a Georgia - town where a thrifty Negro, having accumulated some wealth through hard labor against odds, drove and expensive automobile to town one day and parked it, some white men came up and ordered him and his daughter out of the machine, set fire to it and burned it into cinders in his presence and forbade him to complain. They said he had become too prosperous. Can you imagine anything worse? Again I may mention a case where my near relatives were the victims. I had an uncle once who moved into a settlement in Georgia, bought a home out in the raw woods and began to clear the soil and prepare it for civilization. After ten years of hard labor by him and his family, much progress had been made. The farm became a model for the community so much so that the jealousy of the whites was aroused and they ordered him to vacate, but feelinf no right to leave his home and being a law -abidingcitizen, he did

heed their warning. Ah! had he but known that Georgia did not protect Negroes in their rights, since he had none that white men were bound to respect, he would have, no doubt been alive today. Sad, but true, one Sunday morning a mob of about one hundred attacked his home, riddled it with bullets, killed him, his wife and one child and bade the other children flee for their lives. Then and there the curtains came down and the scene closed. These are but two incidents of hundreds in which the Negro was the victim. If thrift, obedience to law and self-respect are virtures where on earth will these virtures have any reward for the Negro ?

B. B- Segregation:- Segregation means the separation of the races and to this the Negro of the South does not object provided the conditions are respectable and equal, but this is not the case. Segregation means inferior accomodations on trains, in stations, in schools and in all public places.

From an article by Phillip Alexander Bruce:-"Undoubtedly the most significant aspect of race segregation in the Southern States today is the rigid line of division which has been drawn in all the important cities between the white and black populations respectively." But this usually means that the Negro is forced to live in the most undesirable and unhealthy parts of the cities, and when disease and mortality increase among them it is said that these are indications of the Negro's inability to survive Western Culture.

Since we discussed this more freely in a former chapter we may turn our attention to the next social evil, lynching.

Bruce - Hibbert Journal. 13: 867-86. July 1915.

C- Lynching: - This social menace is as old, in this country as the coming of the first settlers. It is the child of the Old World's inquisition.

The early settlers put to death Indians upon capture, who had murdered white men, without legal procedure, sometimes forcibly taken from the officers of the law. Extra-legal methods were in common in punishing offenders during the Colonial period. In the south such punishment as whipping and sometimes tarring and feathering were common.

When the tide of emigation rolled westward after the close of the Revolutionary War establishing settlements they adopted extra-legal methods to punish offenders, such as cattle-thieves, robbers, swindlers, horse-thieves and desperadors since no regular legal methods were adequate.

In the slave states men who advocated abolition were whipped or flogged and banished from the community within a few hours.

Prvious to the abolition of slavery few Negroes were ever put to death since they were property and that would entail an economic loss, and the masters did not regard extra-legal methods as at all necessary. But after the Civil War when the Negroes were set free and the whites felt the threat of Negro domination extra-legal methods were resorted to, putting Negroes to death indiscriminately and almost exclusively, and it was during the period of reconstruction that lynching became an institution in the south.

We may state here just what is meant by lynching. We mean, when we use the term lynch - the seizing of an individual on the slightest pretext or on a charge or rumored charge of offense, by a mob, and putting him to death without any legal procedure, in the most excruciating and inhumane manner such as shooting to death, hanging by the neck, suspended from a tree limb until dead, tortured to death with hot irons or burned alive. It seems almost impossible for me to associate such practices with civilized people since they are the methods of savages.

Lynching is not necessarily confined to Negroes because some whites have been victims. In twenty-two years 1883-1903 there were 1,169 whites lynched in the United States.

It has been said that lynching is caused by prejudice but the above figures seem to be a contradiction of that claim. I do not deny that prejudice is one of the contributing causes but not the sole cause.

Cutter says:- " It will be found if history of the practice of lynching be carefully noted, that the only contributory that is always and invariably present in an unorganized or disorganized state of society, is a condition of popular excitement and resentment, when reliance on ordinary legal procedure is at a minimum. Lynchings take place primarily because certain of the citizens conceive that the ends of justice and order can be better served in that way than by legal procedure which is available. No punishment is given the lynchers, ordinarily, for the reason that the majority of the rest of the citizens believe that the victim or victims suffered only what was deserved."[1]

The perpetuation of this infamous practice is a demonstration of the weakness of the United States Government. Yet it could not exist unless the majority of the American people condoned it. That

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[1] James Elbert Cutter - South Atlantic Quarterly. 6: 125-34.

is the reason why it is kept alive in the south. Public sentiment is with the lynchers or they would be apprehended and punished.

Lynching is a social disease that has so deeply infected the moral fiber of the American people, particularly the Southerners that it has practically robbed them of all sense of justice save among their immediate group.

Again it is said that lynching is done in self-defense but this is a fallacy because Negroes have been lynched for the killing of a mule, jumping a labor contract and for escaping from a chain gang etc. This shows that lynching is not done for any particular crime. It is the Negro who is usually the victim of the mob. When you hear the word, lynch, immediately a Negro is associated with it.

1. Lynching is a National Menace:- (1)Lynching is not confined to the south. The result of East St. Louis in 1917 and the horrible lynching at Coatsville Pennsylvania, in 1911, should be sufficient to show that the south is not the only guilty. (2)The second fact to be noted is that all the lynched were not for the protection of virture of white women because only sixteen out of sixty-two were charged with attempted assault. (3) The third fact to be noticed is that lynching occurs most commonly in sections where education is backward and moral standards are low. (4) the fourth fact is that the best men and women of the south are more and more realizing the shame of this evil. It has been condemned by many prominent southerners such as ex-Governor Emmet O'Neal of Alambama, and Prof. Edwin Mims of Vanderbilt University; the latter said in a speech before the Sociological Congress in May at Knoxville: "Lynching is unjustificable

under all circumstances. It is wrong in the sight of God and man. It is a blot on our National escutcheon and a menace to the whole country. It is an economic peril to the south. It is inexpedient, unwise and a political mistake. Above all, itis a community and National sin."

Multitudes of other Southerners voice the same sentiment. The commission of Southern collegiate teachers addressed a letter to the public opening with these words: "Lynching does more than rob the victims of their constitutional rights and their lives. It simultaneously lynches law and justice and civilization, and outrages all the finer human sentiments and feelings. Civilization rests on obedience to law, which means the substitution of reason and deliberation for impulse, instinct and passion".

Political and social life for the Negro in the south that has been for decades one eternal night has begun to see signs of the rising sun.

2. Some Suggestions:- (1) "It is the duty of every citizen to refrain from all lawlessness. (2) It is the duty of the State to so order its laws that the insufficiency of them will not be so glaring and atrocious. (3) Public sentiment should condemn any officers of the law who allowed a prisoner to be taken from him. (4) The governor should have power to remove any sheriff who fails to protect a prisoner in his charge. (5) The state has no excuse for not protecting under lock and key. (6) The lynchers know when they start out on their infamous mission that they will not be punished. (7) Legislators should remember that the real enemies of local self-government are

those who persist in maintaining a system of laws which do not govern. (8)The man who most imperils the right of the state to govern its own is he who aids to govern it wrongfully."(quotations from an address delivered before the Georgia Bar Association by Mr.Robert C.Alston)

There is but one solution or cure for this social disease and that lies in the enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment by appropiate legislation and the development of Christian Character and it seems from all indication that neither of them exist.

D- Peonage : - Peonage was the form of slavery practiced by the Southern whites as a substitute for the old slavery system.The extent of its existence has never been known.

Peonage is forced labor or labor secured by deception and may be regarded as voluntary and involuntary servitude.

Voluntary peonage is that service rendered for which only food and clothing are given as compensation thus keeping the laborer in constant dependence.Involuntary peonage is labor forced by law. These two forms of peonage I will discuss seperately.

1. Voluntary Peonage:- This form of peonage still exist in certain parts of the South to a great extent. Negroes are deceived from year to year on their farms that they are getting a fair share of their produce when in reality they are only getting a third, and sometimes even as little as the fourth. A farm is owned by a white man where he has Negro tenants working on shares; he

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1 Robert C. Alston - Lynching, An Evil of County Government. Journal of Criminal Law and Criminalogy.11:127-31.May,1920.

furnishes all supplies for the year and when harvest time comes and the crop is to be divided a long list of expenses is presented showing articles furnished that the Negro has no knowledge of and prices of supplies that never existed, hence after these claims have been settled the Negro has only a small pittance with which to tide him through the winter and sometimes a draw on the next year's supply is necessary. This obligates the Negro for another year and year after year this is repeated.

When a Negro owns a farm conditions are very little better with few exceptions. S upplies are furnished on what is known as a lein which requires a mortgage on the crop, and all personal property, even including house-hold effects. Outrageous prices are charged in order that the bill might be enlarged and if the season is poor and a acanty crop is produced, sometimes every thing is taken to satisfy the creditor and if the crop fails to satisfy all personal property is taken. This is known as closing one out. This kept the Negro in constant straits and economic dependence. Thus the poverty of the average Negro farmer in the south has been something deplorable. But such conditions tend to grow less as education among the Negroes pregresses.

2. Involuntary Peonage:- This form of peonage is only another name for slavery, and until recently was protected and fostered by the laws of the Southern States.

Ignorant Negroes were forced into contracts that they did not understand and compelled by law to carry them out under penalty. Negroes are arrested on the slightest pretense and charged fines

that they cannot pay and some planter or owner of a large farm will pay his fine and force him to sign a contrct to work it out at the white man's directions and according to his plans. Thus hundreds are forced into virtual slavery for years at a time.

Many jobless Negroes have been arrested for vagrancy, which alone applied to Negroes, and sentenced to long terms on the chain-gang but instead of working there, are sold at from $5 to $11 per head to farmers by the county to work out their time there. This was the cause of the Williams farm atrocities. But few conditions of the above mentioned exist today, though it is not wholly non-existent at present.

Conditions have changed greatly during the last decade due mainly to increased intelligence among Negroes and the influence of the northern and western migration, and the death warrant of this, too long existing system has been signed and it is only a matter of time before it will be buried without hope of a resurrection. This is what is known as involuntary peonage - slavery.

With all these handicaps the Negro in the south has gradually moved steadily foward economically, and is still facing the rising sun of progress, which will mean for him in time a newer and better day.

It is the object of the southern white man to keep the Negro economically dependent, as they say he is far better in that state.

It is asserted by southerners that the Negro's best friend is the Southern white man. But is that true ? Not if I have any

knowledge of the question. Are the Southern whites willing to see the Negro become economically independent? Will they see to it that the Negro have legal protection for his property ? Will they aid him in securing his own home ? No, I can cite instances to disprove any affirmative answer. I know of Negroes who bought homes and were forced to pay for them twice before receiving a title. I I know of one who bought and paid for a home but never received a title nor any receipts for his money and at the death of the former owner the Negro lost his place. Many cases could be cited and names given but suffice to say that the old <u>bunkum</u> that the Southern white man is the Negro's best friend is but empty substanceless sentimentalism.

VII

THE WAY TO RACIAL ADJUSTMENT

XV

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The way to racial adjustments cannot be along any one path because the path has as many by-paths as there are human characteristics. But for convenience we may name four of the principal paths that may be pursued to arrive at some sort of solution of the Race Problem which seems to be the source of so much evil of our times and to me a barrier to the realization of the christian ideal, the brotherhood of man.

A - Apply the Principles of Christianity: - America is called a Christian Nation but to my mind that is a misnomer and a misrepresentation of Christianity. I have often wondered what kind of a gospel could a southern white minister preach, and what sort of a christian message he could present to a congregation of lynchers, a group of people who called themselves christians while they denied to their fellowmen every conceivable political, social and economic right that they can and even the right to be a man; a group that recognizes the value of no human life or personality aside from their own. I realize the fact that there is a small minority of southern whites who would like to be fair and be real christians, some of these I happen to know personally but public sentiment is against and for fear of social and economic ostracism they are of no consequence. But the pathetic thing about it all is that the Church, the embodiment of Christianity and the agent of the Kingdom of God is silent on these great social evils while at the same time calls itself the representative of Christ, To me such Christianity is offensive and blasphemous.

According to the above situation I think the best step toward

racial adjustment is the application of Christian Principles. And in doing this we must first realize that we are our brother's keepers. Mr. Robert Speer says: "Heredity and education alike entail obligations but are entitled to no privilege except the privilege of service." Hence, the right solution of the race problem is the simple solution of justice and righteousness, of brotherhood and good-will.

(1) "Races must realize their economic interdependence and common interest. No race, as we have seen, can permanently profit by loss of other races. Trade must be mutually beneficial or it cannot endure."

(2) What Dr. J.L.M.Curry said long ago is clear today to all with regard to the Negro and whites in the south. Unless the white race lifts up the black race,"both will be inevitably dragged down."

Mr. Speer further states: " The thoughts of every race like its diseases are not segregable. The only safty of any one race is not in isolation but in a pure and clean world.

(3) "The right solution of the race problem requires that each race shall cultivate a feeling of respect and tolorance towards other races and of sympathy with them in struggles which our race has often made more difficult for them."[1]

(4) No race can lay claim exclusively to any race development of civilization or any system of culture. Not only do the white race hold what is theirs but what they have taken from other races as well.

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1 Robert Speer - Of One Blood p.189-92

(5) Each race has the right to seek to preserve its racial integrity if it so chooses and develop whenever possible into National autonomy. The Negro has no quarrel with the white man if he seeks to preserve his racial integrity so long as he respects the rights of the Negro. But when he seeks such ends by disregarding the rights of his fellowman, then his efforts falls to the level of the lower animal - might makes right, and upon no such ethics can a democracy exist. Mr. Murphy says, (The present South p.19) "Democracy does not involve the fusion of races any more than it involves the fusion of Creeds or the fusion of Arts. It simply does imply that the finality of civilization is not in the man who is white or in the man who is black but in the man - white or black- who is a man."

(6) Does Christianity offer a solution ? If so what are the principles for application ? (a) First the ideals of equality in the true sense. Not equal capacity, achievement or progress, but equal in rights to justice and to life, to happiness and to work, to self development and to liberty. "Christianity asserts the equal right of man as man to be his best and do his most, and it asserts this equal right for every man of every race." (Speer - Of One Blood p. 195)

"Here in the solution of the race problem. In looking over humanity, torn with race feuds and embittered with race hatreds we ask with Paul, "Who can deliver us from the body of this death?" the answer is simple and clear: "Christ the Savior of this body." (Speer- Of One Blood p.199)

= B = The recognition of the Negro's contribution to American progress and the white man's debt: - This I regard as a second step toward a solution.

1. The Negro certainly made his contribution that cannot be overlooked. The Negro's contribution in industry has been sufficiently stated by many emminent writers so much so that it may suffice to mention the fact here. In science, invention and art it is obvious to all readers of history and especially in later years. In literature and religion it has been sufficiently recognized. Last but not least his contribution to the flag, which has been adequately indicated in a former chapter. Realizing the above facts can any intelligent white American be so blind and unreasonable as to say that America is not the Negro's home which he has helped to make; not a facter in development of American culture and life to which he has made his contribution; is not entitled to the best the country has to offer its citizens, when he shed his life's blood in every war to defend its flag and all it represents.?

When the white man becomes a real christian and is willing to play the game of life fairly give credit to all whom credit is due and apply the Golden Rule in his relations to others, the, now apparent social enigma will become a thing of the past.

2. The White Man's debt : - There is a responsibility that rest upon the white man in regard to the Negro that he cannot deny or reasonably ignore whether he likes it or not, a responsibility he took upon himself, one for which God will hold him

accountable.

There is a pecular thing about the Negro that makes his position in American Democracy unique. The Negro did not voluntarily immigrate to America to find a new home, seeking American adoption, but he was seized by force and against his will and transplanted in America as a slave, and he worked here for over two hundred and fifty years without pay, in ignorance, misery, degradation and shame. Then to fail to recognize an inescapable debt to the Negro is gross blindness and heartless savagery.

America is the only home that the American Negro knows. It is his home as much as any other American citizen, he bought it with his labor and his blood.

= C = Perfect a complete racial understanding: - It is surprising to note the amount of misinformation that has been circulated about both races.

Knowledge is power while ignorance is weakness. It has not been until recently that attempts have been made to perfect any kind of understanding between the races in the South. All kinds of curious notions are held by Negroes about whites and by whites about Negroes which have been the cause of much prejudice and hostility.

The Southern whites claim that they alone understand the Negro and a greater mistake has never been made or a greater falsehood has never been told. It might have been true of the old-time

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The Southern whites claim that they alone understand the Negro and a greater mistake has never been made or a greater falsehood has never been told. It might have been true of the old-time

but certainly not true of the modern Negro. In order to understand, there must be some kind of association on mutual grounds or else one's true self will always be held from view; and this is not the case in the south. The races are kept apart from every wholesome association.

1. History needs to be rewritten especially the American history. I have taught some four years in the public schools ofthe south and all school literature is written with the sole aim: to picture the glory and achievement of the whites. In the shaping and building of American Democracy and culture; the negro is not mentioned. In defending the flag the Negro is shamefully neglected in American history and this neglect causes much unnecessary ignorance among both races about one another. We need a new educational program in the south. The truth needs to be taught; only the truth brings freedom that is worth having.

To rid the Negro of his inferiority complex which is absolutely necessary if he ever is to be helped or to become a man and have self respect about which there is so much preaching now a days, the truth must be told.

2. A department of Social Ethics should be maintained in every college both white and colored, conducted by fair minded competent instructors. In this department the scientific findings should be emphasized so that such factors could become the content of popular thought and controlling sentiment regarding both races; and this would go a long way towards creating a feeling of brotherhood and goodwill and thus do much towards a solution of the race

problem.

= D = Equal Opportunity and Respect : - There is one thing about the white man that makes him an object of mistrust and a man of doubtful veracity to all men of color, and that is, his unwillingness to play fair. By his actions the white man believes that his salvation depends on having the advantage and this must be had at all hazards; this is true the world over.

It is time the southern white man rid himself of that old slavery psychology which is so offensive to modern christian culture. The social atmosphere of the south is so foul and contaminated as a result of the stagnation and corruption of southern society, that it is fatal to all clear thinking, fair mindedness and christian character.

The white man must be willing to grant equal opportunity and respect:

1. In Education : - If the Negro's standard is to be measured by that of the whites then he must be given equal opportunity in maintaining such. He must have comparable schools and facilities: equal opportunity to make use of his education, and when one makes himself worthy be granted the same respect that the whites ask and demand for themselves.

2. In Industry : - It is discreditable for any man to speak of poverty among Negroes as being due to the lack of thrift and the ability to accumulate or of any moral laxity or family irregularity as due to any innate inferior moral quality when it

is very obvious to all that the economic life of any people must determine the standard of its morality; and all thrift depends upon opportunity for expansion and improvement.

The Negro is denied industral equality for fear of his becoming economically independent, and that is denied by the southern whites, because economic independence carries with it a higher social life and will be the death of the old race dogma of social inferiority.

If the southern whites, all whites for that matter, will play the game of life fairly the race problem will solve itself to the satisfaction of all. The trouble lies in the fact that a solution is sought, giving one side all under-hold, or every advantage and the best of every thing, and that can't be done and never will be done.

3. In Politics: - Grant the Negro opportunity, power to help make the laws that govern him and to say how he shall be governed. It is only fair that he should. This is a democracy and a democracy is self-government. The great Lincoln said on one occassion: "When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government- that is despotism. No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent." According to this interpretation the government of the south is a despotism and there can be no race solution as long as such conditions obtain.

VIII

SOME UTOPIAN DREAMS

History both sacred and secular tells of the dreams of every age, some have merely dreamed and related their dreams while others sought to make their dreams come true. Of those who merely dreamed and waited for time and the gods to bring things to pass, waited and died without the sight; while those who dreamed and then went out to realize their dreams were finally lost amid the stern realities of a real world. Yet those dreams have not been without some value. They have been guiding stars to the clumsy feet of humanity in its divers paths of human progress.

The Ancient Hebrew Prophets dreamed of the coming of the Day of the Lord when a Kingdom of righteousness would be set up by a catastrophic distruction of all their enemies and in which they, the chosen ones, would reign supreme. But decades of centuries have passed since then and it is still a dream.

Jesus, who called himself the Son of God, dreamed of a Kingdom of God wherein dwelleth righteousness, a Kingdom of brotherly love. He trained assistants and went out to realize his dream but He was put to death almost at the beginning of His work. Apostles, with great enthusiasm attempted to realize the dream of Jesus in their day but they passed away almost two decades of centuries ago and the dream is still a dream.

Dreamers we still have with us. Negroes dreaming of an African empire and whites dreaming of world domination.

A. The Dream of the Negro: - The Negro dreamed of a redeemed Africa, an African nation owned and controlled by Negroes but

they failed to consider the facts of the situation and when efforts were put forth toward the realization of the dream they soon awoke to find that it was only a dream. It is one thing to make flowery speeches and say what ought to be and what can be, but it is quite another thing to make those ideas live in the flesh.

It is not a nationalistic state, an isolated nation that should be the ambition of nations and races but a universal democarcy for it is only in a world, a universal democracy that nations, races and individuals can ever hope to free themselves from strife and obtain an equal chance in the race of life.

Marcus Garvey, a negro, dreamed of a world empire and sought to marshall the forces of the Negroes of the world to accomplish that end but ere this time, no doubt, he has realized that it was only a dream. The idea aroused the enthusiasm of the American Negro, but he soon awoke to find himself chasing the end of the rainbow in search of the pot of gold.

What interest should the American Negro have in Africa or any other place save a humanitarian interest? America is the home of the American Negro, he was born here, he expects to stay here and die here and if there is any such thing as a resurrection he will resurrect from here.

B. The dream of the Whites : - The white race dreamed of world domination and started out to accomplish that end, but their method became so repulsive to other races that it has been checked in its ruthless stride, Not only has it been checked but

except it mend its ways before the great pendulum swings back, according to the law of compensation history will only be able to show the greatness of its civilization. A few prophets have seen the writing on the wall and they have seen fit to sound a warning but as yet little heed has been given.

There are other dreamers of the white race who dream of a pure race and appeal to the white world for preservation of race integrity but these few simple minds fail to realize that no such thing as a pure race exists and such is contrary to the evolution of the human species.

CONCLUSION

Now that I have pictured the Negro's coming to America, described his sojourn herein, showed his contribution to her development and defense; enumerated the outstanding social evils of which the Negro is the greatest sufferer; stated the Negro as a problem and suggested some way of solution, in conclusion I will try to state some of the things that the Negro wants in American Democracy.

If the Negro has not merited the right to all the rights and privileges of a citizen, then let him have his due. But if he has merited these rights, then the white man should see to it, that he be granted them or the least that he can reasonably do is to not prevent him from securing those rights himself.

Then, what does the Negro want in American Democracy ? In answering this question I shall quote from an article by R.R. Wright, Jr. National Conference of Social Work. 1919: 539-45

1.The Negro wants a"chance to vote". He wants to know why he can't vote in a democracy that he is called upon to defend in every national conflict. He will never be satisfied or cease to contend until he gets the chance. He is called upon to assume every obligation of a citizen in a democracy but restricted to a few privileges and to this he objects and justly so.

2. The Negro wants"Justice in the Courts". In the south justice is not associated with the Negro except between Negroes and Negroes and sometimes there it is partial. Justice goes with the voter and this leaves the Negro out. When a white man knows

that justice of the courts is on his side or at least the courts dicision, he is never discreet in his treatment of the Negroes. Thus the Negro is subject to all kinds of insults and humilations without hope of redress. When the courts afford the Negro no protection, it is not to be wondered at when he cries,"Whats the use", and becomes indifferent to progress. Hence the Negro wants justice in the courts.

3. "Representation on the Jury." The Negro wants to be tried before men who understand him and are not antagonistic to him, as a man, that he may have a chance to get his due.

4. "Representation in the Government". The Negro wants help to make the laws he is called upon to obey, local,state and national. He wants to help administer these laws which would prevent much friction that now occurs. If this country is a democracy why shouldn't he have representation.

5. Better living Conditions. The Negro wants what he pays for. He is forced to pay taxes in some southern cities for sanitation that never reaches him. He is forced to live in the most unhealthy sections of the cities where the streets are unpaved and unlighted. "They are forced to pay higher insurance because the city gives them no fire protection." Of course if the Negro had the vote such conditions could not obtain.

6. "Fairer Wages". The Negro in the south does not get the same wages for equal service along with the white man. I can witness the fact because I have worked on the same job with white

men doing the same work and sometimes more and had to accept less wages. Yet if the Negro's financial status is lower than the whites, which it almost always is, he is charged with being thriftless. Hence the Negro wants fairer wages.

7. "Better Educational Advantages." In the states where separate schools are maintained for Negroes, these schools are never on par with the whites. In states where Negro schools are numerous, not one is of standard grade. In North Carolina for instance where much stress is laid on Negro education there is not a single standard high school. the same thing can be said for South Carolina and other southern states. And when southern white men like Mr. Page speak of wasted funds on Negro education and the failure of the Negro to come up to the standard of the whites they fail to consider the deficiency of the Negro schools due to poor facilities and the lack of sufficient salaries to pay efficient instructors. If the Negro's standard is to be compared by the whites he must have equal advantages.

The Negro not only fails to get a fair distribution of the public funds but he is robbed of his share of government appropriations. I can witness these facts because I taught in the public schools myself where such conditions obtain. Hence the Negro wants better school advantages.

Protection of Colored Women. The Negro wants his women protected. If a Negro rapes a white woman he is lynched by a mob, if it can get him and public sentiment even justifies the lynchers. But if a white man rapes a colored woman there is little or nothing said or done about it and this latter is but a

common practice in some sections. Rarely if ever a white man is punished for any outrage on colored women.

The Negro objects to anti-intermarriage laws not because he wants to marry white women but because it gives the white man privilege to degrade negro women without any chance of redress.

I can't help but feel a sense of resentment to any reference to the moral laxity of Negro women with mention of the cause of this condition, when I realize how unprotected they are from the lust of white men. This condition would not obtain if the Negro had the vote, but as a voteless people he is the logical prey of the vicious ones of the enfranchised group.

9."Abolition of Lynching." "There have been over 3,500 in our country; many of them have been for causes more or less trivial such as talking back to a white person, disputing about money, theft, resisting arrest etc., for which the offender would receive a light sentence if convicted in a court trial. Sheriffs are slow to protect those who do not vote for them.

10."The Abolition of Special Laws. Laws passed for the control of Negroes that do not apply to whites. These laws force them into separate rail-road cars, separate waiting r ooms with inferior accomdations, schools of inferior sort while they pay the same fare and rate of taxation. The Negroes want this injustice abolished.

11."The use of public privileges for which they pay." Negroes pay taxes and special assessments to maintain public parks, libraries that they are forbidden to enter. The whites know that this is unjust but since the Negro has no vote it doesn't matter. The Negro wants this thing abolished.

12."Negroes want the Fruits of Victory as we ll as the Burdens of War." In every war the Negro sacrificed his blood and money in defense of his country. So loyal has he been that a governor of a southern state declared him to be 100 percent. "Is this sacrifice not worth the ballot and the privileges of a citizen ?" Now the Negro wants some of the fruits of victory.

13. The Negro wants Christianity made Respectable at Home before he be asked to support its propagation abroad.

Charity begins at home. The church must see that christianity is applied to American social questions and America made a fit place to live before any attempt is made to send missionaries to Africa to teach Africans how to improve their ways.

The Negro in America has suffered conditions here at home comparable to any that could exist anywhere else in the world. Lying bleeding and dying the church like the priest and Levite has passed on the other side. Until the church can play the roll ofthe good Samaritan, the Negro wants no more talk about foreign mission.

14. "The Negro wants Recognition of Real Negro Leadership."

He wants leadership of his own picking to represent him and not hand picked leaders who are seeking alms from the whites, not only for the race but their own personal livelihood. These leaders often misrepresent the Negro as a group.

15. "The Negro wants Democracy and Mutual Self-respect Among the Races which make up this Great Country".

The Negro does not want to dominate anybody; he merely wants representation; he does not want to hate the white people. He does not want bolshevism or anarchy but wants to be an American citizen in the greatest democracy of the world. He is not an alien - he was born here. Do you think he wants too much ?

The Negro has been a slave in some form ever since he has been on America soil. He has been loyal and faithful on the whole and true to every trust. He gave his best, even his life's blood to make this nation what it is today. Generations lived and died leaving generation to follow in their footsteps. The Negro has travelled through four hunderd years of American history amidst the thorns of torture, ridicule, scorn, degradation and shame. These thorns have torn his flesh and wounded his soul. Bathed in blood and tears he prayed and sang for the coming of a new day when he would come into his own, into possession of his birth-right-freedom, recognition and a man's chance - the right to live his own life, to be his best self and to fulfil his God given

mission. Millions waited for that day but they waited and died.

Having studied the abolition of the American Negro I find that out of the miseries of the past has come a new Negro with whom our democracy must reckon. This new Negro has little faith or no faith in the white man's religion, doubts the possession of any innate goodness and regards with suspicion the truth of his promises and unless all this is restored to the new Negro in the white man in its purity by a demonstration that cannot be mistaken, I fear we are headed for the rocks and our good Old ship of State that we love so well will become a howling wilderness.

SUMMARY

I

-Early History-

A. Origin of the Negro Race : -

1. The Negro had his origin like all other races, according to the latest research, in the heart of Asia. He came by his physical characteristics by intermixture and changed environment.

2. The old theory or legend about the origin as being the Negro's result of a curse of the gods has been discredited. The Negro is no separate species of the human race as seem extremest seem to think.

3. It has been shown that no definite or distinct definition can be given to the word "Negro". All that can be said is, Negro refers to a race of people of African descent which is of dark, black, reddish, b rown or light complexion. There being nothing of a pure Negro in existence.

B. The World Position of the Negro:-

1. The Negro is regarded as inferior to all other members of the human family and less able to assimilate.

2. He is thought to possess a greater persistency , constancy and less susceptible to modification and development, which has been clearly proven to be fallacious.

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C. Slavery: -

1. Slavery began in America with the coming of the first settlers or even before, as early as 1505 or before, and continued in increasing proportion for two hundred and fifty years.

2. Slavery represents the darkest pages of American history . The Negro lived a life of degradation and shame . But the degradation of the Negro was not without its influence upon the life of those who made his life such. and it was the recognition of this fact along with others that finally led to his emancipation.

D. Emancipation :- It has been seen that the dominant factors in the emancipation of the Negro were: (1)The economic and (2) the political factor. It was the menace of the slave-labor of the south to the free-labor of the north that lay at the basis of the northern antagonism to slavery. It was a strategic move to win the war and save the Union that finally led to emancipation. There were other factors but the above were controlling ones.

Emancipation brought many problems to be solved. First, how to protect the Negro and enable him to improve himself. Second how to enable him to become a citizen, and it was finally thought that to insure the Negro's protection he must have the ballot and thus raised to full fledged citizenship. The Negro was thus made a citizen and given the vote.

E. Reconstruction : - After the war plans were devised by which the southern states could be reconstructed. The south was first

C. Slavery: -

granted the privilege to make its own readjustments. But with the Negro free and with political rights the southern states failed to faithfully perform their task and this finally led to military rule. In this way the state was reconstructed. After reconstruction the south was left to make her adjustment to the Negro but the story of this adjustment is a sad one and it finally wound up with the Negro disfranchised and a southern problem, one which up to this day remains unsolved, with little hope of immediate solution.

II

Problem

we find that the Negro became a problem after reconstruction not only to the south but to the whole nation. He became subject to abuses and tortured hardly less than during slavery.

Solutions were sought of different kinds. It was first thought that the Negro should be deported to Africa and colonized but this was finally given up since the Negroes then living, living in America were aliens to Africa knowing no home save America. Secondly, it was suggested that the American remnant of the Negro race be exterminated but that was thought to be too cruel and barbarous, hence the idea was dismissed without serious consideration. Thirdly, it was thought that the way out was to segregate the Negro and keep him in his place; but up to date this has never been completely accomplished and has only led to grave injustices to the Negro and has harboured a multitude of sins. This was found to be no solution. Fourthly, It was thought that

the only way out was to assimilate him but the white masses sent up a cry of holy horror at the idea of amalgamation and this was soon found to be no immediate solution, but few still hold to the possible working out or effectiveness of this last suggestion.

111

The Negroes Contribution to the Flag

The Negro fought in every war from the Revolutionary War to the World's War along beside his white fellow citizen. He has acquitted himself like a good soldier proving faithful to every trust. He has contributed even more than his quota and yet he is denied the rights of a citizen in certain sections of our country.

1V

The Negro and Progress

The Negro has made progress along all lines. In literature and art he has given his writers, orators, actors, painters, sculptors, vocalists and composers. In education he has produced scientists, educators and inventive geniuses that are comparable to any of any race. In industry he has furnished a majority of common laborers in the south and skilled laborers equal to whites in efficiency. He has found his way into all forms of industry and there proved his efficiency with credit. In business he has shown his equality with any other race, even against all kinds of adverse circumstances, showing an agregate wealth in 1910 of $1,110,000,000. The last census shows an increase of one half billion.

V

The Negro and Constitutional Rights

The Negro is denied his Constitutional Rights in many if not all of the southern states. In states where he is allowed to vote his vote is not allowed to defeat a candidate for office hence his vote is of no consequence.

In the courts the Negro cannot hope to get justice especially in a case against a white man. He is not allowed to protest aganist any wrong or publicly state ways to change the existing conditions in certain parts of the south. All public meetings are censored. I was caused to protest against certain public charges against the Negro at a mass meeting, and I was asked to make myself scarce in that community and to avoid some unpleasant and unhealthy complications I heeded the warning. As a result of these condition Negro leadership in the south is almost Nil.

VI

The Negro and Social Evil

I regard lynching the most infamous institution in our democracy and a menace to the morals of the nation. Along with this segregation and peonage are made possible and perpetuated by Negro disfranchisement and intensified by race prejudice.

These Institutions built upon disfranchisement and race prejudice I regard as America's greatest social evils.

V

Lynching- the seizing of individuals by infuriated mobs and torturing them to death in the most inhumane manner, robs the individual of a trial, condemns many innocent ones to death, breaks down the morals of the south and produces a disregard of all law and order.

Segregation - the separating of Negroes from whites in all public places, causes misunderstanding between the races, gives the Negro inferior accomodations an unsanity environment, thus increasing disease and mortality among them and making it hard if not almost impossible for them to maintain any appreciable degree of self-respect.

Peonage - the forcing of one to work for mere food, scanty raiment and shelter has made virtual slaves of the Negro.

Voluntary or involuntary peonage makes economic independence impossible. These conditions are still very prevalent in the south today.

VII

The Way to Racial Adjustment

I say the way to racial adjustment because there is no solution to the race problem, at least no ultimate solution until there is but one race - the human race. But much can be done by way of eliminating grounds for conflict, and this can be done by:first: applying the principles of Christianity, by observing the Golden Rule. Second, recognizing the Negro's place in the nation and its

history and the debt the white man owes to him. Third, perfecting a complete understanding between the races and; Fourth, granting equal opportunity and respect in education, industry and politics.

VIII

Some Utopian Dream

It is time to realize that we are living in a real matter- of- fact world. The white man has dreamed for centuries and is still dreaming. He is still seeking to perpetuate things that do not exist and that which is utterly impossible, and even if it were possible, for which he has proved himself unfitted for, the former race purity and the latter- world domination.

The Negro has done some dreaming but he has long since realized that those dreams are futile and is now determined to set himself to the task of making a place for himself in the world by actual thought and action, regarding the world as his Country, doing right his religion.

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